

# The Pragmatics of Conjunction in Colonial Valley Zapotec

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## 1 Introduction to Colonial Valley Zapotec<sup>1</sup>

Valley Zapotec is a group of languages spoken in the Oaxaca Valley, Mexico. There are religious and legal documents, such as testaments and bills of sale, from the Colonial era written by native speakers of Colonial Valley Zapotec (CVZ). These documents may be used to learn about the language and culture of the Zapotec people in Colonial times. (The specific documents referenced in this study are listed in §7.1.)

## 2 Conjunction Typology

Position of the conjunction (Haspelmath 2004: 6-10):

- MONOSYNDETIC (*Matthew, Mark, and Luke*)  
BISYNDETIC (*Matthew and Mark and Luke*)  
ASYNDETIC (*Matthew, Mark, Luke*)
- PREPOSITIVE (*and-Matthew and-Mark*)  
POSTPOSITIVE (*Matthew-and Mark-and*)

Possible distinctions between different conjunctions (Haspelmath 2004: 10-14):

- SYNTACTIC SENSITIVITY: different conjunctions for conjoining different types of phrases
  - Haspelmath (2004: 11-12) proposes the implicational sequences:  
[NP – VP – clause]    *and*    [NP – AP – VP].

If you draw a box around the syntactic range of a conjunction, the box must be continuous.

*correct*

[NP – VP – clause]

*incorrect*

[NP] – VP – [clause]

- SEMANTIC SENSITIVITY:
  - different conjunctions for conjoining proper vs. common noun phrases
  - different conjunctions for conjoining tight pairs (*mother and father*) vs. loose pairs (*a piano and a grapefruit*)

## 3 Conjunctions in CVZ

### 3.1 Previous literature

- Fray Juan de Cordova's grammar: *chela* and *=la* (1578a: 50r)
- Cordova's dictionary: *chela* (1578b: 393v)
- Whitecotton and Whitecotton: *chela*, *huanee*, and *=la* (1993: 45, 125, 143)  
(index of the Junta Columbina's 1893 vocabulary)
- Broadwell 2002: coordination in the *Doctrina* by de Feria (1567)

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<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Brook Danielle Lillehaugen for her thoughtful discussion of this topic and to George Aaron Broadwell for his initial research. A previous version of this talk was presented at COLOV-6 in April 2014; I thank the attendees for their helpful comments. My further thanks go to the SSILA reviewers, my fellow students in LING215 at Haverford College (Fall 2013), Isabel Gross, and Jack Rasiel. All errors are, of course, my own.

In this paper I discuss the four primary Zapotec conjunctions observed in the corpus of handwritten documents written native speakers, as well as in the *Doctrina*.

### 3.2 The four CVZ conjunctions

*Chela*: monosyndetic or bisyndetic<sup>2</sup>

- |    |       |       |          |              |            |         |          |                       |              |               |
|----|-------|-------|----------|--------------|------------|---------|----------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. | 50    | ps    | cama     | xiteni       | xi-coquij= | ttoo=na | dios     | reys                  | <b>chela</b> | chona         |
|    | 50    | pesos | treasury | POSS         | POSS-king= | big=1p  | God      | King                  | and          | three         |
|    | peo   | lichi | quiba    | <b>chela</b> | chona      | tozena  | azote    | lao                   |              | picota        |
|    | month | home  | metal    | and          | three      | dozen   | flogging | face.LOC <sup>3</sup> |              | whipping_post |

‘50 pesos to the treasury of our lord God King and three months in jail and three dozen lashes at the whipping post’ (Al642;31-32)

*Huane*: monosyndetic or bisyndetic

- |    |        |          |              |          |       |               |       |              |   |
|----|--------|----------|--------------|----------|-------|---------------|-------|--------------|---|
| 2. | 20     | pos      | <b>huane</b> | tobi     | beo   | lichi         | quiba | <b>huane</b> | 3 |
|    | 20     | peso     | and          | one      | month | house         | metal | and          | 3 |
|    | tozena | azoti    |              | loo      |       | picota        |       |              |   |
|    | dozen  | whipping |              | face.LOC |       | whipping.post |       |              |   |

‘Twenty pesos and one month in jail and three dozen whippings at the whipping post’ (Ti700;11)

*=la*: bisyndetic clitic

- |    |        |             |        |             |      |            |
|----|--------|-------------|--------|-------------|------|------------|
| 3. | guicha | <b>=la,</b> | xilla  | <b>=la,</b> | seda | <b>=la</b> |
|    | wool   | =and        | cotton | =and        | silk | =and       |
- ‘wool and cotton and silk’ (Doc-10v;5)

Asyndetic conjunction:

- |    |        |              |        |            |        |            |        |       |
|----|--------|--------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|-------|
| 4. | quinaa | quecoyoohuea | quinaa | lachiylana | quinaa | lachizaque | quinaa | queco |
|    | field  | Quecoyohuea  | field  | Lachiylana | field  | Lachizaque | field  | Queco |
- ‘the field Quecoyohuea, the field Lachiylana, the field Lachizaque, [and] the field Queco.’ (Al697-62v;10-11)

For data on the syndeticity of the conjunctions, see §7.2. While variants of these conjunctions, such as *hua*, *ñee*, *chelañee*, and *huachela* are seen in the documents, they are extremely infrequent and I have not been able to draw any conclusions about their use.

None of these conjunctions show any sign of semantic or syntactic sensitivity. For example, *chela* may be used for both tight (5) and loose (6) conjunction.

- |    |      |             |      |        |         |          |              |      |        |
|----|------|-------------|------|--------|---------|----------|--------------|------|--------|
| 5. | tobi | pere-gozana | topa | pere   | coconi  | hualachi | <b>chela</b> | xopa | gozana |
|    | one  | turkey-hen  | two  | turkey | sterile | native   | and          | six  | hen    |
- ‘one turkey hen, two sterile native turkeys, and six hens’ (Te618-1;40)

2 I use the following abbreviations in the glosses: 1s, first person singular pronoun; 3, third person pronoun; ASP, aspect marker; DEF, definite; H/P, habitual/progressive; IRR, irrealis; LOC, locative; PERF, perfective; POSS, possessive; REL, relativizer; ST, stative.

3 CVZ uses body part words in locative constructions (see Lillehaugen 2014).

6. xilla                **chela**    gui-ona                na-guichela                tomines  
 saddle                and    PERF-three                ST-serve\_people                tomines  
 ‘a saddle and three (to serve the people) tomines’ (Te626-3;20-21)

Table 1 shows a summary of the use of CVZ conjunctions across the corpus. Evidence for these assertions may be found in §7.3 and §7.4.

	<b>Mono/ Bisyndetic</b>	<b>Noun phrase/ Clause</b>	<b>Common/ Proper NPs</b>	<b>Tight/Loose</b>
<i>Chela</i>	both	both	both	both
<i>Huane</i>	both	both	both	both
= <i>la</i>	bisyndetic	both	both	both
<b>Asyndetic</b>	null	both	both	tight

Table 1. The use of CVZ conjunctions.

Notes on this summary:

- I have not found an example of loose asyndetic conjunction, due to the difficulty of finding examples of asyndetic conjunction in general; this is not a strong restriction.
- I could not find any phonological restriction (as in Spanish, with the use of *y* versus *e*). However, it is difficult to talk specifically about the phonology of CVZ as it is purely written (Smith Stark 2003, Broadwell 2013, Lillehaugen et al. 2014)
- The difference between tight and loose conjunction is very culturally specific. However, in most cases I was able to find very clear examples of both tight and loose conjunction.
- None of the conjunctions seem to be connected to a specific geographic area or time range (see §7.4)

### 3.3 Contextual sensitivity

When investigated individually, none of the conjunctions appear to have any semantic or syntactic sensitivity. However, the conjunctions may take on a CONTEXTUAL SENSITIVITY. In (7), *huane* (CONJ<sub>B</sub>) is sensitized for the tight conjunction, while *chela* (CONJ<sub>B</sub>) is sensitized for loose conjunction.

- 7.
- |                              |                 |                              |         |                         |                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                              |                 | <u>CONJUNCT<sub>A1</sub></u> |         |                         |                              | <u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u> |
|                              |                 | <u>CONJUNCT<sub>B1</sub></u> |         | <u>CONJ<sub>B</sub></u> | <u>CONJUNCT<sub>B2</sub></u> |                         |
| ti-ni=a                      | guitao          | tobi                         | caballo | <b>huane</b>            | xilla                        | <b>chela</b>            |
| H/P <sup>4</sup> -say=1S     | in_total        | one                          | horse   | and                     | seat                         | and                     |
| <u>CONJUNCT<sub>A1</sub></u> |                 |                              |         |                         |                              |                         |
| gui-ona                      | na-guichela     | tomines                      | c-aca   | gona                    | xiteni=a                     |                         |
| PERF-three                   | ST-serve_people | tomines                      | IRR-be  | offering                | POSS=1S                      |                         |

‘I say that in total [one horse and a saddle] and [the three, to serve the people, tomines] shall be my offering.’ (Te626-3;20-21)<sup>5</sup>

4 This aspect marker is used for both habitual and progressive. See Broadwell 2013 ms.

5 In this translation, boldfaced brackets denote the upper level of conjunction and underlining denotes the second level of conjunction. In future examples, parentheses will denote a third level of conjunction.

This semantic sensitivity is temporary; it applies only to this specific construction. Earlier in the same document, *chela* (CONJ<sub>B</sub>) is used for tight conjunction and *huanee* (CONJ<sub>A</sub>) for loose, as shown in (8).

8.

<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A1</sub></u>					<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A2</sub></u>
		<u>CONJUNCT<sub>B1</sub></u>	<u>CONJ<sub>B</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>B2</sub></u>		<u>CONJUNCT<sub>C1</sub></u>
gui-ropa	neza	bichinagona	<b>chela</b>	macho	<b>huanee</b>	guehuana
IRR-two	yoke	ox	and	mule	and	mirror
<u>CONJ<sub>C</sub></u>		<u>CONJUNCT<sub>C2</sub></u>				
<b>chela</b>		biga				
and		jewel				

‘[the two yokes of oxen and mules] and [a mirror and jewel]’ (Te626-3;11-12)

Conjunctions can also have contextual syntactic sensitivity. In (9), *chela* is used for verb phrase conjunction (CONJ<sub>A</sub>) while *guanee* (another spelling of *huanee*) is used for noun phrase conjunction (CONJ<sub>B</sub>).

9.

<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A1</sub></u>				<u>CONJUNCT<sub>B1</sub></u>	<u>CONJ<sub>B</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>B2</sub></u>			
r-oni=a H/P-do=1S	gona offering	pos peso			<b>guanee</b> and	çeche canpa ring? bell?	---	1 one	pos peso
<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>				<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A2</sub></u>					
<b>chela</b> and	ti-ni=ya H/P-say=1S	r-oni=a H/P-do=1S	cona offering	lani stomach.LOC	casas box	xiteni POSS	xonasi lady	sancta holy	
<u>(CONJUNCT<sub>A2</sub>)</u>									
ma tapa tomines Maria four tomines									

‘[I do offer a peso and a ringing of the bell -- one peso --] and [I say that I do offer four tomines in the box of our lady Holy Maria].’ (Te626-1;27)

This contextual sensitivity may be used to define a hierarchy in very long constructions, as in (10), where *huanee* functions as the ‘primary’ conjunction (CONJ<sub>A</sub>) and other conjunctions are used to connect items which are specifically related.

10.

<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A1</sub></u>				<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A2</sub></u>		
c-apa=ni	gui-ropa	yoho	lichi=aa	<b>huanee</b>	puerta		
IRR-have=3	IRR-two	house	home=1S	and	door		
<u>(CONJUNCT<sub>A2</sub>)</u>		<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A3</sub></u>				
huacaa	guiba	<b>huanee</b>	tobi	guiña	caxa	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>B1</sub></u>	<u>CONJ<sub>B</sub></u>
filled?	metal	and	one	box	box	huacaa guiba	<b>chela</b> <b>huanee</b>
						filled? metal	and and
<u>(CONJUNCT<sub>A3</sub>)</u>		<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A4</sub></u>				
<u>CONJUNCT<sub>B2</sub></u>			<u>CONJUNCT<sub>C1</sub></u>	<u>=CONJ<sub>C</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>C2</sub></u>	<u>=CONJ<sub>C</sub></u>	
batao	niño	Jesus	<b>huanee</b>	taa	<b>=la</b>	pecogo	<b>=la</b>
life force	child	Jesus	and	mat	=and	altar	=and

<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>		<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A5</sub></u>	<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A6</sub></u>		<u>CONJUNCT<sub>D1</sub></u>
<b>huanee</b> and	xilla seat	ri-biba=ni H/P-ride=3	<b>huanee</b> and	gui-ropa IRR-two	neza yoke	bichinagona ox
<u>(CONJUNCT<sub>A6</sub>)</u>		<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A7</sub></u>			<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>
<u>CONJ<sub>D</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>D2</sub></u>		<u>CONJUNCT<sub>E1</sub></u>	<u>CONJ<sub>E</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>E2</sub></u>	
<b>chela</b> and	macho mule	<b>huanee</b> and	guehuana mirror	<b>chela</b> and	biga jewel	<b>huane</b> and
<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A8</sub></u>		<u>CONJ<sub>A</sub></u>	<u>CONJUNCT<sub>A9</sub></u>			
cochillo knife	nigaa this	<b>huanee</b> and	lari cloth	laiçe cloak		

‘They shall have the [two houses of mine] and [the door with a lock] and [one box with a lock and a baby Jesus] and [a mat and altar] and [a saddle] and [the two yokes of oxen and mules] and [a mirror and jewel] and [this knife] and [a cloak].’ (Te626-3;8-13)

## 4 Further Discussion

### 4.1 Conjunction in modern Zapotec languages

Table 2 shows the conjunction in modern Zapotec languages. None of the modern languages seem to have retained the system of contextual sensitivity.

Language	Conjunction	Construction
San Dionicio Ochtepec (Broadwell 2002)	<i>cùn*</i>	mono/bisyndetic (between conjuncts); Broadwell suggests that <i>cùn</i> is actually a preposition
	= <i>nà</i>	bisyndetic, postpositive clitic
San Lucas Quiaviní (Munro & Lopez et al. 1999)	<i>nah</i>	bisyndetic, postpositive (after every conjunct)
	<i>cēhnn, cwēhnn*</i>	conjunction/preposition (between conjuncts)
Mitla (Briggs 1961)	<i>nāj, nājza</i>	bisyndetic, prepositive (between conjuncts)
Isthmus (Pickett and Black 1997)	<i>ne'</i>	bisyndetic, prepositive (between conjuncts)
San Bartolome Zoogocho (Sonnenschein 2004)	<i>na'</i>	prepositive, between conjuncts
Macuiltangus (Foreman 2006)	= <i>nna</i>	mono/bisyndetic, postpositive clitic

Table 2. Conjunction in modern Zapotec languages.

These appear to be derived from the CVZ word *nee*, is listed in Whitecotton and Whitecotton as both a conjunction (postponed) and a comitative marker (1993: 186), although it is not as common in the documents as the conjunctions discussed above.

\* Spanish borrowing



16. Fran                      Lorenzo                      **chela huanee**                      Bisente de Mendossa  
 Francisco                      Lorenzo                      and                      Bisente de Mendossa
- cheela huanee**                      Pedro de la Cruz  
 and                      Pedro de la Cruz

‘Francisco Lorenzo and Bisente de Mendossa and Pedro de la Cruz’ (Co721-6;2-4)

From just these two tokens, it's impossible to draw many conclusions about the usage of this conjunction. Strangely it's used independently in different contexts, in wills from different towns, separated in time by nearly a century.

Other conjunctions (e.g. *hua*, *chelañee*, *huachela*) are used in the documents and are referenced in CVZ dictionaries, but they are extremely rare. The conjunctions appear to be different permutations of a set of morphemes.

## 5 Conclusion

Although CVZ conjunctions do not have inherent syntactic or semantic sensitivity, they make take on sensitivity in a specific context. There is room for further research on the use of more infrequent CVZ conjunctions and on potential patterns of use in a specific town or by a specific speaker.

## 6 References

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## 7 Appendix: Further Data

### 7.1 Documents used in this study

Abbreviation	Description <sup>7</sup>
Al642;line	1641 San Pedro el Alto, Bill of Sale. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 310, Exp 2, 40r-40v; Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group. <sup>8</sup>
Al697-page;line	1697 San Pedro el Alto, Testament of Maria Barbula. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 310, Exp 2, 62r-63r. Originally analyzed by LING215, Haverford College, Fall 2013.
Co721-page;line	1721 San Bartolome Coyotepec, Testament of Maria de la Cruz Dionisio. Archivo General del Poder Ejecutivo de Oaxaca, Alcaldias Mayores, Leg. 21, Exp 12. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.
Doc-page;line	de Feria, Fr. Pedro. 1567. <i>Doctrina Cristiana en lengua castellana y zapoteca</i> .
Te614;line	1614 San Juan Tectipaque, Testament of Sebastian Lopez. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 256, Exp. 2, 104r-104v. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.
Te618-page;line	1618 San Juan Tectipaque, Testament of Juan Lopez. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 256, Exp. 2, 112r. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.
Te626-page;line	1626 San Sebastian Tectipaque, Testament of Juan Lopez. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 256, Exp. 2, 88r-90r. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.
Ti700;line	1700 San Andres Tiltepec, Bill of Sale. Archivo General de la Nación, Tierras, Leg. 310, Exp. 2, 48v. Originally analyzed by the UCLA Zapotexts group.

### 7.2 Syndeticity of chela and huanee

*Chela* may be monosyndetic:

- a. n-apa=ya tobi porcellana tobi escudilla chona plato **chela** yaga lona  
 ST-have=1s one china one bowl three plates and wood bed  
 ‘I have one (piece of) china, one bowl, three plates, and a wooden bed.’ (Te618-1;38)

*Chela* may be bisyndetic:

- b. 50 ps cama xiteni xi-coquij=ttoo=na dios reys **chela** chona  
 50 pesos treasury POSS POSS-king=big=1p God King and three  
 peo lichí quiba **chela** chona tozena azote lao picota  
 month home metal and three dozen flogging face.LOC whipping\_post

‘50 pesos to the treasury of our lord God King and three months in jail and three dozen lashes at the whipping post’ (Al642;31-32)

7 Initial analysis for all of these documents is from the CVZ FieldWorks FLEx database (Broadwell & Lillehaugen 2012). In some places I have modified this analysis to reflect my current understanding of CVZ.

8 The UCLA Zapotexts group transcribed and analyzed several documents used in this study; in these cases I have referenced both the original analysis and the analysis in the CVZ FLEx database. In some places I have modified this analysis to reflect my current understanding of CVZ.



*Huanee* may be monosyndetic:

- c. tobi lari lace tobi çahuel rarihui çe-tobi cuello **huanee** tobi sunbrero  
 one cloth cloak one ? ? DEF-one collar and one hat  
 ‘one cloak, one [??], one collar, and one hat’ (Te618-1;36-37)

*Huanee* may be bisyndetic:

- d. que-xe=ni 20 pos **huanee** tobi beo lichi quiba **huane**  
 IRR-pay=3 twenty peso and one month house metal and  
 3 tozena azoti loo picota  
 three dozen lash face. LOC whipping\_post

‘He/they shall pay twenty pesos and one month in jail and three dozen lashes at the whipping post.’  
 (Ti700;11)

### 7.3 Lack of global semantic/syntactic sensitivity

*Chela* may conjoin noun phrases:

- e. n-apa=ya tobi porcellana tobi escudilla chona plato **chela** yaga lona  
 ST-have=1s one china one bowl three plates and wood bed  
 ‘I have one (piece of) china, one bowl, three plates, and a wooden bed.’ (Te618-1;38)

*Chela* may conjoin clauses:

- f. hua-ti-yelijcalachi=a chitaa quelalij ni là articulos de  
 PERF-H/P-truly\_believe=1s fourteen truth REL be.named articles of  
 la fee **chela** ti-yelijlachi=a xi-ticha xi-ñana sancta yglesia  
 the faith and H/P-believe=1s POSS-word POSS-mother holy church

‘I truly believe the fourteen truths that are named the articles of the faith and I believe the words of our mother the holy church’ (Doc-115v;13-16)

*Chela* may conjoin proper noun phrases:

- g. gabriel de sactana marcos átoni **chela** naa  
 Gabriel de Santa\_Ana Marcos Antonio and 1s.fp  
 ‘Gabriel de Santa Ana, Marcos Antonio, and I’ (Al642-26)

*Chela* may conjoin tight conjuncts:

- h. tobi pere-gozana topa pere coconi hualachi **chela** xopa gozana  
 one turkey-hen two turkey sterile native and six hen  
 ‘one turkey hen, two sterile native turkeys, and six hens’ (Te618-1;40)

*Chela* may conjoin loose conjuncts:

- i. xilla **chela** gui-ona na-guichela tomines  
 saddle and PERF-three ST-serve\_people tomines  
 ‘a saddle and three (to serve the people) tomines’ (Te626-3;20-21)

*Huanee* may conjoin noun phrases:

- j. tobi lari lace tobi çahuel rarihui çe-tobi cuello **huanee** tobi sunbrero  
 one cloth cloak one ? ? DEF-one collar and one hat  
 ‘one cloak, one [??], one collar, and one hat’ (Te618-1;36-37)

*Huanee* may conjoin clauses:

- k. g-ati=a **huanee** qui-xee=nij tobij missa  
 ASP-die=1s and IRR-pay=3 one mass  
 ‘I shall die and he/they shall pay one mass’ (Co721-2;4)

*Huane* may conjoin proper noun phrases:

- l. Anpro시오 **huane** Jacinto **huane** lichela=ya Madgalena  
 Ambrocio and Jacinto and spouse=1s Magdalena  
 ‘Ambrocio and Jacinto and my spouse Magdalena’ (Te626-3;7)

*Huane* may conjoin tight conjuncts:

- m. topa bara pigaa **huane** topa pee  
 two pottery necklace and two ring  
 ‘two pottery necklaces and two rings’ (Te626-2;11)

*Huane* may conjoin loose conjuncts:

- n. macho **huane** guehuana  
 mule and mirror  
 ‘mules and a mirror’ (Te626-3;12)

=*la* may conjoin noun phrases:

- o. beni na-bani =**la** beni coti =**la**  
 person ST-alive =and person dead =and  
 ‘the dead and the living’ (Tes740;19)

=*la* may conjoin clauses:

- p. nii pe-zaa=nii llaayoo =**laa** nii pe-[za]=nii cabilaa =**laa**  
 REL PERF-create=3 land =and REL PERF-create=3 hell =and  
 ‘that he created the land and that he created hell’ (Tes740;5-6)

=*la* may conjoin proper noun phrases:

- q. Agostatino =**la** P<sup>o</sup> mulino =**la**  
 Agostatino =and Pedro mulino =and  
 ‘Agostatino and Pedro Mulino’ (Al697-62v;22)

=*la* may conjoin tight conjuncts:

- r. quelazij =**la** quelachibaa =**la** quelacobiña =**la** quelahuechaganiça =**la**  
 affliction =and misery =and hunger =and thirst =and  
  
 nalla =**la** nagui =**la**  
 cold =and heat =and

‘affliction and misery and hunger and thirst and cold and heat’ (Doc-27v;20-22)

=*la* may conjoin loose conjuncts:

- s. guicha =**la**, xilla =**la**, seda =**la**  
 wool =and cotton =and silk =and  
 “wool and cotton and silk” (Doc-10v;5)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin noun phrases:

- t. quinaa quecoyohuea quinaa lachiyalana quinaa lachizaque quinaa queco  
 field Quecoyohuea field Lachiyalana field Lachizaque field Queco  
 ‘the field Quecoyohuea, the field Lachiyalana, the field Lachizaque, [and] the field Queco.’ (Al697-62v;10-11)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin clauses:

- u. qui-ta=ni qui-togo.ticha=ni  
 IRR-come=3 IRR-judge=3  
 ‘He shall come and he shall judge’ (Tl675b;9-10)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin proper noun phrases:

v. tes P<sup>o</sup> ernades testico Fracisgo luis p<sup>o</sup> mural testico  
 witness Pedro Hernandez witness Francisco Luis Pedro Morales witness  
 que-ona bene xiini  
 IRR-three person child

‘witness Pedro Hernandez, witness Francisco Luis, Pedro Morales (witness), [and] the three children.’  
 (Al697-62v;22-23)

Asyndetic conjunction may conjoin tight conjuncts:

w. tobi chamara azul tobi par manga na-cobi tobi cuello riyahui  
 one jacket blue one pair sleeve ST-new one collar old  
 ‘one blue jacket [and] one new pair of sleeves [and] one old collar’ (TE626-2;4-5)

I have found no examples of obvious loose conjunction. However, asyndetic conjunction is by nature difficult to locate in a corpus, so this may not be a strong constraint.

#### 7.4 *Use of the conjunctions across time and location*

Table A1 shows the spread of the four conjunctions throughout several of the analyzed documents from the FLEx database (Broadwell & Lillehaugen 2012). Each conjunction is found in a variety of locations, showing no evidence of a local distinctions.<sup>9</sup>

Document	Location	<i>Chela</i>	<i>Huanee</i>	<i>=la</i>	Asyndetic
Al697	San Pedro el Alto	X	X	X	X
Co721	San Bartolome Coyotepec	X	X	X	X
Oc686	San Sebastian Octolán	X		X	
Te626	San Sebastian Tectipac	X	X	X	X
Ti700	San Andres Tiltepec		X		
Ti709	San Andres Tiltepec	X			X
Tl675b	San Jerónimo Tlacoachahuaya	X	X	X	X
Za719	Zaachila	X	X		

*Table A1. Distribution of conjunctions in documents.*

<sup>9</sup> This is not an exhaustive list (of towns or documents), but is demonstrative of the trend.

Table A2 is organized chronologically, showing a relatively even spread of the conjunctions across time.

<b>Document</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b><i>Chela</i></b>	<b><i>Huanee</i></b>	<b><i>=la</i></b>	<b>Asyndetic</b>
Doc	1567	X		X	X
Te577	1577	X		X	
Te589	1589	X			
Te590	1590	X			X
Te610	1610	X			X
Te614	1614	X	X		
Te618	1618	X	X		X
Te626	1626	X	X	X	X
Al642	1642	X			X
Hu659	1656	X			
Tl675b	1675	X	X	X	X
Oc686	1686	X		X	
Al697	1697	X	X	X	X
Ti700	1700		X		
Te702	1702	X	X		
Ti711a	1711	X			X
Oc715	1715	X			
Za719	1719	X	X		
Co721	1721	X	X	X	X
Tes740	1740	X	X	X	

*Table A2. Temporal distribution of conjunctions.*